THE New Republic

Adlai Stevenson and The Democratic South by Ralph McGill

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A MARSHALL PLAN FOR ATOMIC POWER

With US Aid, a United Europe Could Put Nuclear Energy to Work for Prosperity

Edith Wharton's 'Age of Innocence' . . *Louis O. Coxe*
Dream World of Davy Crockett . . *Delmore Schwartz*
Lord Beveridge's Life . . . . . *John F. Golay*
From the Johannesburg Slums . . . *Daniel Friedenberg*

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Washington Wire .... T.R.B.

We can take our dog down every summer and get it inoculated free by the city against rabies; that is a reasonable procedure under the public health program. But we can't take a child down and get it inoculated free against polio; oh dear, no, that is "the backdoor to socialized medicine" says Oveta Culp Hobby. Hygienic for dogs, socialism for children. Canada does it, but our moral standards are so much higher than Canada's that we would rather let the kids die than break Mrs. Hobby's oh-so-genteel heart.

There is a certain self-righteousness about the Eisenhower Administration that is hard to take, an unconscious assumption of effortless superiority. When Sen. Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) pressed Mrs. Hobby on how she would decide what child gets the charity vaccine under her proposed means-tests system, she bridled. With the air of a DAR regent putting an immigrant in place, she retorted: "It is obvious that I do not know the detailed answers to all public-health practices." Well—why not? That is her job, isn't it? As the *London Economist* observed of the whole Administration, "One of the reasons for its plight lies in its peculiar insulation from the emotional life of the people."

Nearly everybody will be happy to know that the US Court of Appeals in New York has socked Westbrook Pegler $175,001 for libeling Quentin Reynolds. Hearst will pay the bill, and may watch his parlor-McCarthy more closely in the future.

Illustrative of the way crucial news seeps out is the speech on H-bombs by Dr. Willard F. Libby, Atomic Energy Commissioner. He made it in Chicago, June 3. It was in highly scientific jargon, got practically no attention. But it dealt in just that field where the vacillating Eisenhower Administration first thought it would run "Operation Candor" (letting the public know the real horror of fusion warfare), then called it off. (The Pentagon censorship, incidentally, now takes as criteria in making defense information available whether the material will be "useful" to the public.) Well, it wasn't long before Washington news bureaus were tipped off by frustrated scientists what Libby's speech really meant. By June 12 it was front page news in the *New York Times,* and it is now spreading out.

The word which the Administration doesn't dare speak is that radioactive fall-out from a "10-megaton" bomb would drench perhaps 100,000 square miles. Since bombs soon may be four times as powerful as that, you can do your own multiplication. With wind, distribution would be wider; without wind, concentration would be hotter with possibilities of strontium poisoning (bone cancer) for maybe nine months. Just where this leaves last week's Operation Alert we don't know, but it might be better to trust the public with the facts.

It's nice to know that Allen Whitfield, Ike's latest nominee for the AEC, won't be giving out scientific information that will scare the public; he knows nothing about engineering at all. He's a GOP lawyer-banker from Iowa who is such a practical man-of-affairs that he may never get confirmed. At any rate there are some odd details in his co-trusteeship of the estate of a certain Widow Crawford in Des Moines that the Congressional Joint Committee is looking into. Whitfield was an Eisenhower-for-President man, an important thing on the AEC.

The fine thing about people like Whitfield is that they aren't security risks; nobody would ever suspect them of having joined organizations on the Attorney General's list. Under them the country is safe. Just the same some unusual information about current security procedure is coming out before the committee under Sen. Olin Johnston (D, S.C.). For example, you wouldn't think the US Small Business Administration was a sensitive agency, loaded with Moscow-tempting secrets? Ah, but how little you know Washington! People who get jobs at SBA need Republican National Committee approval. Whether true or false, rumors circulate here (as in most government offices) that security charges are a good way of clearing out Democratic undesirables. (Over in the State Department Scott McLeod is supposed to be adept at this.) Well, testimony shows that SBA has a security officer named George McDavitt, and all we know about him is that he allegedly got subordinates to write testimonials about himself, telling what a good guy he was. One of these strange documents concluded, "I make the above statement of my own free will and accord."

Notes: New England will see President Eisenhower five days this week—a man of great earnestness, sincerity and charm who still lets the Agriculture Department brand Wolf Ladejinsky a "security risk" while the rest of the government holds him a trusted public servant, and who feels no compulsion to do anything about it. . . . White House Economic Adviser Arthur Burns in a little-noticed Pennsylvania speech hints that the government isn't going to let credit, or stock market speculation, get out of hand; duration of the present market rise is now the longest in history, and we suspect Reserve Board margin requirements will be raised again soon. . . . The Catholic Church aided Peron in Argentina much as it did Franco in Spain; we feel real sympathy for the Church in its difficulties today and wish that it had found Peron a "dictator" earlier. . . . In a crucial test the House voted for Dixon-Yates against TVA, 198-169, last week, but without an identifying roll-call; how can you have responsible two-party government where representatives hide their votes from the people who elected them? . . . With occasional freezes the "Great Russian Thaw" continues in the first big Soviet foreign policy reversal since the war; some think Moscow might ultimately offer a pull-back of troops from East Germany in return for a US pull-back of air support to a more distant periphery, say Britain, Iceland and North Africa.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Soviet Air Power and the US Budget

IN THE PAST 60 days the Soviet Union has shown the world that Western estimates of Soviet air progress were seriously wrong. A miscalculation of Soviet capacity apparently formed the basis for President Eisenhower's "New Look" in defense spending, beginning in 1953 when $5 billion was cut from the Air Force budget.

As evidence of error mounts, it is exceedingly difficult for the Administration to redress the balance of power with a crash program, such as the Soviets have just employed, without admitting past errors and throwing Treasury Secretary Humphrey's budget further out of balance for the election year 1956.

Secretary of Defense Wilson tacitly acknowledged his dilemma when he asked the Congress in mid-June to triple the funds for Air Force research and to speed up by 35 percent the construction of B-52 intercontinental bombers, which had previously been cut back by the Administration. The B-52 is the main reliance of the Strategic Air Command for long-range retaliation against enemy attack.

Revelations about Soviet air strength began in late April when millions of Moscow residents were permitted to witness flight after flight of new-type Soviet planes flying at low altitudes in practice for a May Day show. News accounts of these developments were published all over Europe before the Department of Defense in Washington issued its first guarded release on May 11 stating some new Soviet planes had been observed which showed the high technical competence of the Soviet industry. Nothing more.

But reports from Europe were so startling—although technical in character—that Sen. Stuart Symington (D, Mo.), former Secretary of the Air Force, declared that "the US may have lost control of the air," and the Air Force Chief of Staff, General Nathan F. Twining, was impelled to detail some of the revolutionary Soviet developments.

Perhaps the best public interpretation of the facts has come from the military analyst for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *New Republic* contributor, Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips (Ret.). Here are items from his recent dispatches to the *Post-Dispatch*.

1. The Russians are now flying in formation a long-range jet bomber, called Type 37, with estimated range of 5,200 miles, which makes its mission clearly aimed at the United States. Current Russian and American production of these long-range bombers is approximately equal, though the American plane, the B-52, is not yet in operational units.

2. The Russian long-range bomber has only four engines, compared to the American eight, but each Soviet engine develops a "thrust" more than double that of any jet engine produced in the West. This came as "a shock to the American designers."

3. The Soviets are flying in formation a fighter interceptor, the MIG-17, which is equal to our best interceptor, the F-100. The Soviets have more than 7,000 of these fighters, of which 4,000 are in operational units ready to meet foreign bombers, and some have already appeared in the Far East. There are only a few hundred F-100's in the United States.

4. The Soviets have flown over Moscow a still more advanced fighter at speeds above 1,000 miles per hour. The United States has designed such a plane, but none has yet been put into operation.

In short, the Soviets have overtaken us in long-range bomber design, are catching up in long-range bomber production, and have far surpassed the United States in fighter plane development and production. Relative Soviet air strength will continue to increase in the months ahead.

Commenting on the revelations in Moscow, the *New York Times* said three important conclusions are indicated:

"First, Secretary of Defense Wilson was wrong when two years ago, on May 19, 1953, he reassured Congress that Russia was concentrating on a defensive air force composed primarily of fighter planes . . .

"Second, once again—as in the case of atomic and hydrogen bombs earlier—the West has seriously underestimated Soviet development and production capabilities.

"Third, serious rethinking of our military policies seems required in the light of the new; disquieting information.

Why, many in Washington are asking, did the United States Government slip in its calculations? There is considerable evidence that the recent revelations in Moscow contained nothing new for Air Force Intelligence. The information was already in their files. But it had not been made public and had not been applied in budget planning by civilian defense chiefs.

General Phillips offers a partial explanation: an Administration of businessmen, and especially of an auto manufacturer, is accustomed to testing a new engineering design until all the bugs are out of it, before sending it into production. That is the most economical way, but it adds years to the development time for a new product. That is the system now adopted by the Air Force under Secretary Wilson.

It was not always so. The present US superiority in the medium bomber was achieved through a decision by former Secretary Symington to send the

NEXT WEEK

Reinhold Niebuhr examines the illusions and realities of the progressive tradition—the first in a *New Republic* series of essays on the moral and intellectual content of present-day liberalism.

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B-47 directly from the drawing board into production. Subsequent design changes cost more than $300 million, but we gained a lead on the Soviets in that branch of aviation which they have not yet overcome. Now the Soviets, using the same kind of crash program, have stolen a march on the US in two of the most critical areas of air competition—the intercontinental bomber and the supersonic fighter. Senator Symington has expressed belief that they may also be ahead in the "ultimate weapon" of our time, the intercontinental missile with hydrogen warhead.

Democrats in Congress have been wary about attacking the Administration on a technical military issue because they fear the judgment of a 5-star general in the White House is likely to be accepted as final by the public. Senator Symington, with some claim to specialized knowledge on aviation, was the first to remind his colleagues last week that General Eisenhower testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee in March, 1950—three months before the Korean War—that a $15 billion defense budget could provide "an effective defense" and that 48 air groups was ample for the Air Force. Within three months we were at war, and the Congress was called on to quadruple the military budget and triple the Air Force strength.

Senator Symington also recalled that immediately after General Eisenhower became President, the plans for a 143-group air force, which had matured during the Korean War, "were promptly scrapped by a new and totally inexperienced Secretary of Defense." Secretary Wilson's $5 billion cut in the Air Force budget, Symington said, was made without consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, over the objection of the then chairman, Gen. Omar Bradley.

The attack upon the President's defense judgment has been marked by no open lobbying of the Air Force. The Administration has apparently tightened the screws of discipline upon its men in uniform. Some Air Force experts have cautiously stated that nothing short of a crash program in both long-range bombers and supersonic fighters can assure American leadership, and maintain our ability to negotiate with the Soviets from strength. But a crash program is not the accepted Administration policy.

If the air power experts are right in their gloomy calculations, they give substance to the opening sentence in a 1954 book by the former Secretary of the Air Force, Thomas K. Finletter, who wrote:

> "We will soon reach the point in the atomic race with Russia when, unless we become considerably more alert than we are, the supremacy in air-atomic power which to date has been ours will shift from us to Russia."

Costs of Campaigning

THE PROBLEMS of financing political campaigns, which have been discussed at length in the *New Republic,* have now inspired two bills in Congress. One, offered by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D, Mo.), would modernize the antiquated restrictions on campaign expenditures and contributions. The other, put forth by Rep. Oren Harris (D, Ark.), follows up CBS President Frank Stanton's suggestion that the Federal Communications Act be amended to permit broadcasters to give free time for political debates, interviews and panel shows to the two major candidates without having to give it to minor ones.

Hennings' proposal, which has been approved by a Senate subcommittee, would raise the present meaningless limit on the amount national committees may spend to about $12 million; this would include the outlays of *all* committees. Nobody would be allowed to contribute more than a total of $10,000 in the course of a campaign.

The CBS proposal reveals one of the problems facing the broadcasters but only hints at the solution. Unless the Communications Act is revised to give the FCC considerably more regulatory power over networks, the Stanton idea would leave to the broadcasters themselves the final say on how much free time and at what times the candidates will get on the nation's TV screens and under what circumstances. CBS has made its gesture; responsible Senators are unmoved. The impact of TV on American politics is great, perhaps decisive; it calls for a study commission with a majority of public representatives which can have its suggestions ready for the next session of Congress—in time for action before autumn, 1956.

Votes for Trade

MOST Democrats in the House of Representatives went into the Dixon-Yates fight with real confidence that they were about to fulfill one of their major promises of the 1954 campaign and safeguard the independence to the Tennessee Valley Authority. But they were defeated by the superior generalship of the Republicans, combined with a lack of enthusiasm on the part of some Northern Democrats for the way TVA has been drawing industry into the Southern states which it serves.

The House Appropriations Committee, which had rejected an Administration request for $6.5 million for the

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construction of transmisssion lines to link the proposed Dixon-Yates private power plant at West Memphis, Arkansas, with the TVA system, had also refused to recommend a number of public works projects very dear to the hearts of Democratic representatives. This presented Minority Leader Joe Martin and assorted White House liaison men with a happy opportunity for some old-fashioned horse trading. They reportedly went around offering ten Republican votes for local pet projects in exchange for just one vote against TVA, and enough Democrats were eager for a bite from the old pork barrel to give the Administration an astonishing victory of 198 to 169 on a teller vote.

The fight has now moved to the Senate, but even loyal TVA supporters admit they have little hope of upsetting the action of the lower house. Still, under the leadership of such men as Lister Hill (D, Ala.), Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee studying the matter, and Albert Gore (D, Tenn.), who led last year's 13-day anti-Dixon-Yates talkathon, some interesting facts are being set down.

TVA must now build a transmission line to the middle of the Mississippi River, where it will pick up power delivered from the Dixon-Yates plant being built at West Memphis, Arkansas. TVA supporters in Congress were fighting for an appropriation which would have permitted TVA to build its own plant at Fulton, Tennessee, and so not have to rely on private utilities as a source of power. TVA Chairman Herbert D. Vogel, an Eisenhower appointee and supporter of Dixon-Yates, admitted under questioning by Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee that the Fulton site would be more efficient. TVA Power Manager G. O. Wessenauer told Senator Hill that the annual cost to the government would be between $3.5 and $5.5 million more for the Dixon-Yates Arkansas plant than for the TVA one at Fulton. But Dixon-Yates wants the plant in their transmission area in Arkansas just in case the government should some day terminate the contract.

Meanwhile, maneuvers are underway on extra-Congressional fronts to block the private power firms. The state of Tennessee, various municipalities and some rural electrification co-operatives are asking the courts to enjoin the Securities and Exchange Commission from allowing Dixon-Yates to float bonds necessary for financing the Dixon-Yates plant. The city of Memphis has warned that it will construct its own power plant rather than accept the private kilowatts from Dixon-Yates as a substitute for the public power it now gets from TVA. Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee is considering asking for passage of a law forbidding the import of power from the Arkansas site.

The Dixon-Yates advocates do not seem perturbed by these various threats to their existence. A cancellation clause written into the contract with the Atomic Energy Commission protects them comfortably. If the AEC finds that nobody wants the private power and cancels the contract, it could cost the government an estimated $40 to $80 million.

TVA proponents fear the Dixon-Yates contract because it will force the Authority to take power from sources which have been traditionally hostile to the whole public power concept. This could put TVA at the mercy of private utilities and reverse 20 years of progressive power policy.

The Widow in Allen Whitfield's Past

No EXACT formula has yet been discovered for selecting a good Atomic Energy Commissioner. Former AEC Chairman, Gordon Dean, perhaps the most effective man to serve on the Commission since it was established, came to the post with a single apparent qualification—his friendship with the late Sen. Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), author of the Atomic Energy Act. So the nomination to the AEC of Allen Whitfield, whose lone qualification seems to be that he was a prominent Citizen for Eisenhower in 1952—along with Bernard Shanley, an influential White House aide — cannot be dismissed out of hand as a mistake. It could be another case of the job making the man.

But the Democrats, whose '56 campaign ammunition already includes squirrels and ducks, seem to believe that widows can be used to stir voters' souls too. In looking over Whitfield's fitness to become a member of the AEC, staff investigators of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, headed by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D, N.M.), have come up with the following lamentable tale, not yet made public, of what happened to the Widow Crawford.

It all started with the death of Mr. R. A. Crawford, a Des Moines banker, in August, 1938. Whitfield was named one of three trustees of a special fund containing most of Crawford's $400,000 estate, which consisted largely of half the capital stock of the Valley Savings Bank. Whitfield was a shareholder in the bank and was soon to become a director.

The will provided that Mrs. Crawford should receive at least $250 a month for life. When her husband died, she was assured by the trustees that she was also entitled to all the income from the assets of the estate and was advised to sign the papers they drew up for her. She signed. For the next six years she received her $250 a month, and nothing more. It turned out that the trustees' earlier opinion had been incorrect and that, in fact, she was not entitled to any dividends or interest earned by the trust. She appealed to probate court, pleading that her claim was in jeopardy—although her attorney assured the judge that she still had "confidence and trust" in her trustees. She finally settled for $15,000 paid out of the estate and a promise of $9,000 a year for life. She was 93 when this promise was made, and she died six months later.

This settlement had been negotiated with a corporation known as the Valley-Des Moines Co., which agreed to provide the money in return for the assignment of all the widow's rights in the estate. In 1952 Whitfield was listed as vice-president, secretary and director of Valley-Des Moines, in which, coincidentally, he held a one-third interest.

The remainder of the Crawford estate had been bequeathed to four institutions: Drake University; Iowa Methodist Hospital; Des Moines Children's Home; and Piney Woods School in Mississippi. In 1940 Drake and the Methodist Hospital filed objections to the trustees being paid unspecified sums out of the estate; they feared that the trustees were paying themselves more than the trust was earning. When the widow died, the interests of all four

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institutions were bought out by one of Whitfield's co-trustees, the late Frederick M. Morrison, who had been serving as president of Valley Savings Bank and was also president of The Valley-Des Moines Co. Probate court records do not indicate the price paid. It was Morrison, too, who negotiated the settlement with the widow; Whitfield was in the Army in 1943 and did not sign the two trustee reports. He did, however, sign the final report approving everything that Morrison had accomplished.

Even without engaging personally in the negotiations, Whitfield came out of the transactions pretty well. His own Valley Bank stock holdings have risen from 152 shares before Crawford's death to 869—which makes him the second largest individual shareholder in a bank that boasts $27 million in deposits, a surplus of $500,000 and undivided profits of more than $600,000. As trustee, Whitfield also earned a $3,000 real-estate transaction fee, plus a legal retainer for representing his own bank in settling the Crawford estate.

This is the story uncovered by Atomic Energy Committee investigators. Chairman Anderson wrote Whitfield a letter, asking for his answers to some of the questions raised by the staff report, questions having to do with a trustee's responsibilities and ethics. Whitfield replied, in effect, that it would take a battery of accountants a long time to prepare the answers. Maybe they won't have to bother; nobody will be surprised if Allen Whitfield's nomination to the Atomic Energy Commission is withdrawn in the near future by Whitfield himself, or by the White House.

The Remarkable Mr. Sachs Bites the Hand

IN CHICAGO, some Democratic loyalists are complaining that it's almost as bad as if the Republicans had won the city election last April. The new Democratic city treasurer has been firing the faithful from the city payroll for—of all things—not working.

The man who's endangering the well-established system of political pay-offs is clothing merchant Morris B. Sachs, a political amateur who first tasted politics when he rolled up a phenomenal vote as an independent in the Democratic primary this year. He lost, of course, but was then added to the regular ticket in an attempt to keep bitter anti-machine Democrats from deserting to the GOP nominee—himself a reforming ex-Democrat. Sachs did not disappoint: his 735,000 votes in the recent city election led the ticket.

Sachs, who has a reputation as a severe taskmaster in his own business, apparently thought that the same standards should apply in public office. As a result, he has fired two employees for not putting in what he considered to be a full day's work and fired a third for drawing pay during a period when he was down in Springfield exercising his trade as a state representative. All three men are protegés of party powerhouses and loyal precinct captains.

One immediate result of the firings was the introduction of a bill in the state legislature to abolish the office of city treasurer. "If Sachs wants an economy move, here's one for him," boomed the bill's sponsor, a Chicago Democrat.

"Cute," was Sachs' only comment.

A few days later, Democrats assembled at a $100-a-plate dinner to hear Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee boost Chicago's favorite son, Adlai Stevenson, for another try at the Presidency and, incidentally, to raise money to pay off the deficit left by the hard-fought mayoralty. When Sachs was introduced, a coterie of disgruntled precinct workers booed lustily. Obviously startled, Democratic chieftains proceeded to drown out the jeers with applause.

Sachs' comment was again characteristic. "I know I'm doing the best I know how in the office. If I am ignorant or stupid, the Lord will forgive me."

Sachs' genius for the well-meaning platitude and his good-intentioned repetition of the commonplace have made him one of the most successful amateurs in Chicago's political history. An immigrant from Lithuania, Sachs made a fortune in the clothing business after coming to Chicago and, through a uniquely inspired advertising stunt—the regular Sunday radio broadcast of "The Morris B. Sachs Amateur Hour"—became almost as well-known locally as Arthur Godfrey.

He came into politics at the invitation of a friend Martin Kennelly, then Mayor. Kennelly's bid for renomination had been rejected by the local Democratic organization. Kennelly had served two honest and uninspired terms after his selection by the Democrats in 1947, to succeed the late Edward Kelly, who was "retired" by the organization when resentment against corruption threatened Democratic control of City Hall. Now Democratic control was again threatened, this time by young, reforming ex-Democratic alderman Robert Merriam, running against Kennelly's "do nothing" record with regular Republican and liberal support. Once more the Democratic Party placed office above personality and dumped their mayor. But Kennelly, unlike Kelly, did not retire gracefully. He fought back angrily for the first time in his public life. He entered the primary as an independent, issued manifestoes against "boss rule" and asked Sachs to join the ticket.

The businessman - turned - candidate found that campaign life agreed with him. Carnation in buttonhole, he toured neighborhood meetings enunciating heart-felt homilies with obvious pleasure. The voters loved it. Although the Kennelly ticket was smothered Sachs ran well ahead.

In the meantime, the regular Democratic nominee for city clerk came under heavy fire for some alleged fee-splitting indulged in while he was an alderman. He resigned from the ticket after the primary. Some of the Democratic heavyweights followed Sachs to the sands of Florida, where he had retired for consolation after weeping real tears on Kennelly's shoulder primary night. But the thrill of politics proved stronger than the sting of defeat. Sachs dried his tears and returned to Chicago resolved to accept a place on the Democratic ticket he had campaigned against.

With their usual foresight, however, organization bosses did not slate Sachs for the vacant post of city clerk. They moved their city treasurer candidate into that spot, and gave Sachs the Number three treasurer place on the ticket—together with its 31 patronage jobs.

As it turned out, it was a wise move. Sachs, having already fired three of his staff, promises to consolidate even more jobs if economy requires it. Not only that, but Mayor Richard Daley, who is also Democratic county chairman, has publicly backed him up. The faithful may indeed ask themselves what it profits a Democrat to win an election if he loses his sinecure anyway.

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Adlai Stevenson and the Democratic South

IT IS VERY LIKELY that Adlai Stevenson, Chicago attorney, may take a Deep South vacation this summer. If he is to have a decision as to his Presidential candidacy ready for November release, he must spend some time in the South looking and listening and putting an ear to the sun-baked earth.

It will not be an easy diagnosis. Southern politics includes within its bloodstream the chills and fevers of various and curious malarias. A state may go to bed at night with a normal temperature, and for no common-sense reason, wake up in the morning alternately sweating and chilling in an emotional seizure. There is just no telling what the emotional content of the Deep South will be when the next national election arrives.

This might be the time to say those conventional few words about the state, and the state of mind, called Texas. National Democratic Chairman Paul M. Butler, a quiet, friendly man, recently made a six-day peace tour through that state and was harassed with war-whoops and raids, even though constantly he bore aloft an olive branch. Gov. Allan Shivers led Texas into the Republican column in 1952. He is politically beholden to the industrial strength of the state, which strongly backs the present Administration. This includes the vast oil and associated chemical developments which have made the Lone Star State one of the really great industrial regions of the nation. Its industries are worth more than its traditional cows. Like many Southern politicians caught in this unhappy, uncertain time of transition in the South, Governor Shivers can't quite make up his mind. He says he is still a Democrat, but he has his own definition. If he doesn't like the party's nominee or the platform adopted by the party's delegates, then he isn't a Democrat. He objected to the 1952 Democratic platform on tidelands oil.

Candidate Adlai Stevenson, typically refusing the thirty pieces of silver so often urged upon him during that long campaign, declined to compromise a single plank in the platform. He spoke in Texas against the tidelands oil grab, though he knew it meant almost certain loss of that state, as it did. He did the same thing in Louisiana where the issue also was at the boiling point. There he lost merely the governor.

At any rate, Chairman Butler learned that Governor Shivers felt slighted because the chairman could not attend a luncheon the governor belatedly organized. The Texas State Democratic Chairman and the National Committeewoman also felt that Chairman Butler had not recognized their importance and retaliated by attending none of the meetings scheduled for him. Mr. Butler toured the plains on a program arranged by the Texas Democratic Advisory Council, which is composed of men and women who remained loyal in 1952 when Shivers went over to the Republican Party.

It would be equally easy to stir up similar childish, though serious, political angers in almost any of the Southern states. All of them presently are troubled, nervous, suspicious, alarmed and suffering enormously from growing pains. Most of them now are paying very little attention to state government as such. They are devoting most of their thinking and planning toward postponing, as long as possible, the recent school decision of the Supreme Court.

Nearly all of them have tax systems which specifically were created for agricultural states. Not a single one of them has moved to establish a new tax system geared to the industrial and population growths of the present and future. Without exception, they have kept patching up and adding to obsolete systems. The result is that the tax burden falls unequally and is in constant need of further patching.

None of them has enough physical plants adequately to house all the children who will be going to school next fall. Their salary scales to university, grade and high school teachers are below the national average. The programs for building the separate-but-equal school systems have been enormously expensive and have loaded them all with extra debts.

In not a single state is there any evidence that the leaders comprehend the complex political and social meaning of "urbanization" as reflected in the great growth of their cities and the decrease in farm population. There already are deep, uncharted political currents running through these populations.

It is some of these currents which have brought about the split in Texas. They are present in each of the Southern states and will evidence themselves in one way or another as the great political and social issues of the future arise.

The truth is that the so-called "cotton South" is likely, for a long time, to be an "agin-the-White-House" region. It already is learning, to its distress and consternation, that neither the Democratic nor Republican Party can, or is willing, to give it what it wants. Much of the Democrats - for - Eisenhower strength, for example, stemmed from Candidate Eisenhower's frequent statements that he believed in allowing the states to have as much latitude in government as possible and in withdrawing the federal government from participation in state affairs.

As they turned against Franklin Roosevelt in his last years in the White House, so did they become bitterly antagonistic to Harry Truman. Now again they are "against the White House."

In addition to the endemic political malaria, which makes for instability and brings prophets to grief, there are other factors at work. Florida is the first Southern state to develop Republican strength by virtue of new population and the conservatism of the "retired class." It still is Democratic, but there is a right-wing independent vote in the state which has maintained its organization since the 1952 Eisenhower campaign. In all Southern states there is an increase in the middle-class population and in organized labor. Texas, with a large Republican vote, is still normally Democratic. But politics nowhere in the South is "normal" anymore.

Under the circumstances, Stevenson's greatest asset is that he now is in fact the middle-of-the-road Democratic candidate.

We earnestly suggest to Attorney Stevenson that when he does come South, he bring all the latest listening devices and, if possible, a political univac contraption too.

Atlanta, Georgia RALPH MCGILL

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A Marshall Plan For Atomic Power

by Michael Straight

THE ELECTRICAL power which the average American consumes equals, in energy, that of 31 men working for him without resting or complaining, goofing off or growing old. Soon, thanks to nuclear energy, we may buy our electricity at a flat rate rather than a metered cost. By 1970, according to Kenneth Davis, Director of Reactor Development for the AEC, the United States will have a generating capacity in nuclear power plants equal to our total capacity in conventional power plants today.

In other free nations citizens use from one-tenth to one-half of our consumption of electricity. Their hopes turn substantially on nuclear power, which they need very much more than we do with our cheap and abundant supplies of coal and oil. We have pointed to the margin between our wealth and their poverty as a major threat to free world unity. What are we doing to see that they share with us the bounty of nuclear energy?

The challenge was acknowledged by President Eisenhower. On December 18, 1953, in the most memorable of all his addresses, the President summoned the great powers to work together to disarm in nuclear weapons and to pool their nuclear energy for the enrichment of the power-starved areas of the world. Nineteen months have passed since then. What has the President done? At first, of course, he waited for the Soviet Government to join in his crusade. It chose instead to make no decision. So the shift in the President's position has come. "We cannot wait on Soviet decisions," the President declares in his Commencement Address of June 12. "Now," he continues, "we move into further action."

It would be more accurate to say that we moved several months ago. For the United States, after months of secret negotiations, has concluded atomic energy agreements with 13 nations.

These negotiations, according to the men who conducted them, were the most difficult carried out between friendly nations. At each stage reconciliation was necessary between the conflicting views of military officers preoccupied with weapons; civil authorities obsessed with security, scientists bent upon progress and diplomats who rightly fear that in the absence of agreement nuclear energy developments will soon get out of control. Still worse, these conflicts had to be resolved within the narrow limits imposed by our 1954 Atomic Energy Act.

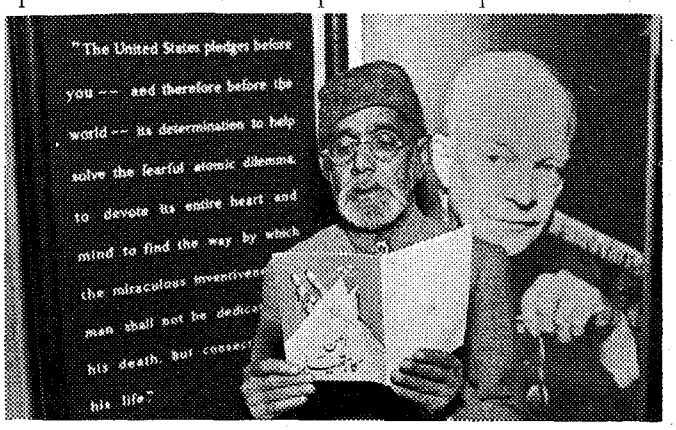
Of the 13 agreements, 10 concern experimental research reactors abroad. They are of little military significance. Their function is to train key personnel, and their contribution is demonstrated by Canada's Chalk River Project where one minor miscalculation caused the atomic pile to melt. By the terms of the 10 agreements the United States agrees to contribute to the capital cost of these reactors which is $500,000 and to provide the nuclear fuel which is used in very small amounts. On this basis a great many more nations are already seeking to negotiate agreements like those the 10 governments have concluded. Quite apart from the necessity of maintaining control of the sources of nuclear energy, these agreements are obviously in our interest. For while these plants are small, scientists working in them overseas may well break through with major discoveries.

Three more agreements have been concluded with Britain, Canada and Belgium. Their principal purpose is to lighten the dead weight of secrecy imposed upon the allies by the 1954 Atomic Energy Act. In theory this Act was intended to permit the exchange of information between friendly nations that faced a common peril. In fact, for 18 months officials have lived with the knowledge that had war come, actions essential to the survival of the free world would have been illegal under the Act.

Within the narrow limits of this Act Britain, Canada and the United States are inching back to the unity of action achieved 10 years ago. Belgium as a principal supplier of uranium, and a nation far advanced in nuclear technology, is also included in the new agreements which permit exchange of intelligence on enemy progress in nuclear energy and of technical information on the construction and use of power reactors. Much needed and long overdue as these agreements are, they are still only permissive. The only assurance that Britain, Canada and Belgium have of being able to squeeze information out of Admiral Strauss is that they now possess useful information on power reactors which the AEC wants.

These agreements are the "further action" proposed by President Eisenhower. Useful and necessary as they are, they do not begin to fulfill the promise held out by the Presidential commitment of December 8, 1953.

The smaller nations certainly will be enabled through our aid to take the first step toward nuclear energy development. But the next step of nuclear power does not


"The United States pledges before
you — and therefore before the
world — its determination to help
solve the fearful atomic dilemma
to devote its entire heart and
mind to find the way by which
the miraculous inventiveness
men shall not be dedica
his death, but consecra
his life"

A visitor at the US Atoms-for-Peace exhibit in Bahawalpur, Pakistan, reads a booklet in Urdu describing the peaceful uses of Atomic energy.

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follow. The experimental reactors which we will help other nations to build are cheap enough. The power reactors, on which we offer no effective aid, are in contrast extremely expensive to build, to equip and to furnish with fuel. The first full-scale nuclear power plant in the United States now under construction at Shippingport, Pa., will cost $37 million and will provide only 60,000 kilowatts of power. In addition, according to Francis McCune, General Manager of the Atomic Products Division of the General Electric Company, "the initial cost of nuclear fuel for one large reactor may be as high as $40 million." More burdensome still than the size of these large sums is their relative costliness in comparison with conventional steam plants. Kenneth Davis, Director of Reactor Development for the Atomic Energy Commission, has told us: "We do not know today how to build a nuclear power plant which would produce power for much less than two or three times that from the best conventional power plant of the same size which could be built instead." These margins may not prohibit the development of pilot plants by great nations such as the United States and Russia, and by nations such as Britain and Germany whose livelihood as industrial suppliers dictates a pioneering role. But the smaller nations, while they need more power, cannot alone and unaided develop it from nuclear plants.

In Asia, Africa and the Near East this problem may not seem pressing for the moment. But for Western Europe it is already acute. The economy of Western Europe is based upon coal, mined by a shrinking labor force from deepening and narrowing seams. The United States buys its coal for $6.50 a ton at the minehead and runs one-third of its economy on oil. Europe, in contrast, pays $12 to $14 a ton for its own coal and uses oil for only 16 percent of its fuel needs.

In 1952 the President's Commission on Resources for Peace estimated that the cost of European coal would increase by 50 percent or more in relation to the average price level. More recently Louis Armand, Chairman of the French State Railways, has surveyed Europe's energy resources for its co-operative planning agency, the OEEC. Europe, Armand agrees, is falling behind in energy supplies. He supports the shift from coal to oil but notes its limits since 97 percent of Europe's oil must be imported, and mostly from nations that want hard currencies in return. Europe's economic prospects, Armand concludes, turn to a significant degree upon the development of nuclear power, *promptly and under the proper auspices.*

What are those auspices? The national boundaries that divide Europe conform to no logical separation of markets or resources. Cramped within these boundaries, and protected from competition, the energy industries of Europe, like its transportation system, are high-cost, inefficient enterprises. Europe's railways, Mr. Armand notes, are outmoded and insolvent because the proper planning was not undertaken when they were organized. The moment in which an adequate energy system based on nuclear power can be built for Europe is here and swiftly passing.

Beyond Europe's need for economic efficiency is the necessity of preventing the development of nuclear energy from taking a potentially dangerous form. Germany, for example, was prohibited during the occupation from developing nuclear energy. She is prohibited from owning nuclear weapons today. Reactors are permitted in Germany, however, and one is now under construction. From these reactors fissionable material can be diverted to bombs. Chancellor Adenauer has voluntarily undertaken to limit the quantity of fissionable material developed and held by Germany. But the commitment is not binding on his successors.

It was for strategic as well as economic reasons that the coal and steel resources of the Ruhr were brought under a European authority and with Germany's support. In its lifetime of 35 months the Coal and Steel Community has abolished tariffs on coal, iron ore and steel, outlawed discrimination in trade and freight rates and established "international through rates" in place of the high frontier charges. It has broken the Ruhr Coal Cartel and forced competition in prices. And now it is approaching the limits of its usefulness. Jean Monnet, founder and first Chairman of the CSC, insists that if it is to live and to contribute to the structural changes that are demanded for Europe's survival, the CSC must extend its unified operations to energy. His views were endorsed by the Benelux Nations, and thanks to them the nations of the CSC have created a study group to report on Monnet's new plan. "Europe," writes Monnet in the *New York Times* of June 16, "has reached the hour of choice."

THE choice is Europe's, but the US can help Europe in reaching for the future rather than the past. A second Marshall Plan could follow a Presidential declaration that if Europe will unify its energy resources, the US will help build and fuel Europe's new nuclear plants. President Eisenhower, like his predecessor, has ardently advocated European union. What is wholly lacking in his new approach to nuclear energy is any concept of how our leadership in this booming industry can be related to our larger ends.

The President offers to help groups of nations that join to build inexpensive research reactors. He limits all aid on power reactors to nations acting alone. His aides explain that non-military aid to nations acting together is prohibited by the 1954 Atomic Energy Act. For purposeful men, Section 124 of the Act on the International Atomic Pool seems in fact to offer a clear course ahead. But if this section is overridden by other provisions of the Act, then the President's responsibility is clear. He and his Party wrote the Act: it is for them to lead in insisting that it be changed.

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Three Years of Peace in the Auto Industry

Acceptance of the guaranteed wage plan challenges Labor to create new programs

by Richard A. Lester

THE Ford and General Motors agreements represent a tremendous victory for Walter Reuther and the UAW. The union's strategy of playing the big auto companies against one another and making Ford the pattern-setter has paid off handsomely. Without an authorized strike of even one day's duration, a program of supplemental lay-off benefits—the essence of UAW's guaranteed employment plan—was won in a single week for half a million employees in two companies that constitute three-quarters of all automobile output.

So rapidly has this "historic" break-through occurred that already commentators are assuming employer opposition to the Guaranteed Annual Wage has crumbled, the guarantee will swiftly spread throughout all industry, price inflation will be the consequence, and our economy will experience a "revolutionary" transformation toward co-determination, cartelization, "creeping socialism," and all kinds of imagined evils.

It does not detract from the UAW's remarkable achievement—and the Ford Motor Company's daring and ingenuity—to point out that the results will be far less monolithic and earthshaking than many of the editorial writers have predicted.

What is needed now is a calm and realistic assessment of the probable consequences of the income guarantee parts of the Ford and General Motors agreements. In those two companies, the price implications for the buying public over the next three years are insignificant. The maximum contribution rate of 5 cents an hour for GAW is only about one half of one percent of Ford's or General Motors' total costs. That is doubtless under one-twentieth of the gross profit, which has been averaging perhaps $300 to $400 per car.

Spread of negotiated lay-off benefits can, however, have serious effects on declining firms and industries and the smaller firms in an industry like auto. State unemployment-compensation laws, especially benefit levels, will undoubtedly be revised as the result of company wage guarantees. Also, the guarantee programs may have important long-run effects upon the unions themselves.

An understanding of the real nature of the Ford and General Motors guarantees is necessary before one can decide the changes that they may make in industry, state laws, and the unions. Except for a few rather minor modifications, the plan as frozen for three years is practically in the form that Ford first offered it. The agreement specifically states that the purpose of the plan is to supplement state unemployment benefits.

To establish the principle of private wage guarantees and to get some program started, the union accepted the following limitations: (1) a maximum duration of benefits of 26 weeks instead of 52 weeks; (2) a combined benefit of 65 percent and, after four weeks, 60 percent of the employee's after-tax basic weekly wage with a $25 ceiling on private weekly payments, instead of the union's request for 80 percent of full-time weekly pay—the combined benefits will probably average about 55 percent of 40-hour weekly wages; (3) no protection against wage losses due to shortened work weeks; (4) no benefit credits for past service, except as a factor in the scaling down of benefit duration when the size of the Trust Fund, set up to pay the benefits, declines; (5) state disqualifications for unemployment pay to be controlling on benefit eligibility under the private plan; (6) management authority over employment levels, production

Richard A. Lester, Chairman of the Department of Economics and Sociology at Princeton University, served as a member with the Public Advisory Committee on Guaranteed Annual Wage of the UAW-CIO and served in a similar capacity for American Motors.

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schedules, manufacturing methods, and marketing of products to be affected in no way by the plan.

With the cost of the plan strictly limited to five cents per hour, it should be evident that nothing very radical or revolutionary will happen in Ford or General Motors at least for 3 years. The principle of negotiated unemployment benefits was fairly widely established in the 1920's in the needle trades, so that it is not something entirely new under the sun.

The financial provisions of the income guarantee programs of Ford and General Motors are most conservative. Not only are the benefits modest in amount and duration but the Fund is protected by a variety of restrictions and savings in the company's favor. Contributions are made for a year before benefits begin. Benefit duration commences to be reduced for low seniority employees when the Fund is more than 25 percent exhausted, and the reduction is progressively larger as the Fund shrinks, duration of benefits being reduced to one-tenth of normal pay for employees with 1-5 years seniority when the Fund is down to 4 to 13 percent of its maximum. Supplementary private benefits must be permitted by law in states with two-thirds of the company's employees before Company payments can start, and then the weekly claims on the Fund are correspondingly reduced as state benefit levels rise.

How Fast Will GAW Spread?

The Ford-GM type of partial wage guarantee is not likely to spread into much of American industry this year. The big wave will occur a year hence.

Settlements have already been negotiated in aircraft, flat glass, and parts of the electrical equipment industry (Philco and International Resistance Company, the latter establishing a fund of nine cents per hour and a study with a view to establishing a GAW plan). Agreements are open for wage changes only in steel, rubber, and at Westinghouse. General Electric's agreement expires in September, but it is doubtful that the IUE is in a position to force a guarantee plan there. The soft-goods lines, like textiles and clothing, and declining industries, such as coal or the railroads, are not good candidates for a guarantee program. At the other extreme are industries with very steady employment, like gas and electric utilities, oil, and some chemicals, where no evident need for a guarantee program exists.

That leaves principally the rest of the automobile industry and the agricultural implement producers, most of whom are organized by the UAW. Chrysler undoubtedly will accept the Ford-GM guarantee, when its agreement expires in August. However, the smaller firms—Studebaker-Packard, American Motors, and Kaiser-Willys—and the auto parts producers present complicated problems.

The Big Three struggle for supremacy, particularly in the low-price field, has been crowding the three smaller auto producers. Their share of the market has declined from 13 percent in 1950-52 to 5 percent in 1954 and 4 percent for the first quarter of 1955.

The test case on differential treatment with respect to wage guarantees will be American Motors, where negotiations are in progress. That firm, formed by the merger of Nash and Hudson last year, had an employment figure in the first quarter of 1955 only half of the 1950 employment of its components, whereas hourly employment in the auto industry as a whole was 6 percent higher than in 1950. This month American Motors laid off 3,400 workers, representing more than one-fifth its current employment. In 1954 and the first quarter of 1955 the company sustained operating losses totalling more than $30 million. Cost and other improvements make the company's future, however, more promising profitwise.

American Motors well illustrates the problems of the smaller auto producer. It must rush its model changes, with much overtime for tooling, because it is forced to follow the new style patterns set by one of the Big Three. Price levels in the industry are established by the major producers. For such reasons, Nash-Hudson employment has fluctuated much more than Ford's or GM's in recent years, not only from one model year to the next but within a model year.

Costwise, American Motors has additional disadvantages. Its state unemployment-compensation tax has been at the top bracket under experience rating and, because its constituents could not stand a strike, the company's wage scales have been forced to an average three or four cents per hour above Big Three levels and some of its fringe benefits are the most generous in the industry.

On the basis of recent years' experience, the same wage guarantee would cost American Motors probably three times the cost to Ford or GM. Therefore, the UAW will have to decide whether to insist on a guarantee plan at American Motors now or to wait and see how the company develops over the next year. If postponement is precluded, will the union stress the contribution pattern of five cents or the Ford-GM benefit schedule, which might cost American Motors 15 cents per hour? A five-cent contribution plan for American Motors would mean much more meager company benefits or a much more precarious financial position for any fund.

The American Motors case is a rather crucial one for the union, because it is likely to have marked influence on the application of guarantee plans to auto parts manufacturers. That the union has recognized circumstances can alter cases is indicated by the fact that about a fifth of its members are still not covered by negotiated pension plans, five years after their acceptance by the Big Three.

The advantages of pooling contributions under a

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single state unemployment fund are evident from an examination of the American Motors case. The union's suggestion of pooling under one guarantee fund by groups of smaller companies is fraught with complications and conflicts of interest, because of company differences in lay-off experience, in employees' seniority, and in distribution of employment subject to particular state laws. With supplementation, changes in state benefits would affect the guarantee liability of companies differently unless they were all located within the same state.

Partial wage guarantees are not necessarily disadvantageous to small firms. Stability of a company's employment depends on the type of industry, local labor market conditions during periods of lay-off, and other economic factors. Generally speaking, smaller firms have not suffered comparatively from experience rating, which provides state tax variation with company benefit experience. The size-of-company results should be no different for private guarantee plans. Like experience rating, wage guarantees do, however, favor diversification of company products and, for the same reason, the merging of firms.

Influence on State Laws

The Ford-GM guarantees take effect only after states with two-thirds of the firm's employment permit supplementation of state unemployment benefits. In some states the laws will have to be amended to allow such supplementation; in others it may be only a matter of interpretation of the existing statute. That, for example, may be the case in New York in view of recent official determinations there.

Where amendment of a state's statute is required for supplementation, vigorous opposition can be expected from the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce and some small business and farm elements. They have provided most of the resistance in the past to improvements in unemployment benefits.

The UAW victory on the GAW issue has demonstrated how short-sighted the automobile firms have been in their opposition to better state unemployment benefits. In 1953 and 1954 an employer representative from General Motors on the Federal Advisory Council vigorously fought any suggestion to the states that they improve benefit standards or at least raise benefit ceilings to previous relationships with wage levels.

Now that private wage guarantees have been established, some employer attitudes will change. Under these guarantee plans, improved state benefits reduce a company's guarantee liability, and therefore its contribution rate to the Trust Fund. Henceforth employer forces will be split on the issue of state benefit levels. The result should be much higher benefit ceilings in relation to wage levels than the increases that occurred this year, largely under Democratic state administrations.

Industry will also discover from practical experience the falsity of the notion that lay-off pay of 65 or 75 percent of normal wages will cause high-wage employees to prefer joblessness. A lot of nonsense has been uttered in opposition to decent benefit ceilings for high-seniority workers.

Effects on the Union

The wage guarantee program will certainly have internal repercussions in the UAW. In time it may alter the union significantly.

This most militant organization has now signed 3-year agreements on top of the expiring 5-year ones. Eight years of industrial peace could prove somewhat debilitating.

The impossibility of uniform application of the GAW can cause internal union dissension. Yet insistence on identical contributions and benefits could discredit the whole program. A measure of industrial statesmanship will be required of union leaders to tailor-make the program to fit the needs and conditions of particular firms or industries. Some local unions may fight such differentiation.

Wage guarantees are a long step toward putting plant employees in a salary status. Under these new agreements the auto workers are rapidly moving toward the higher levels of American living. What effect will such economic progress have on their union and political philosophies?

This year's auto negotiations have proved that, at least in the short run now, collective bargaining can pay off for workers much better than legislative activity. The ease with which the Ford and General Motors agreements were achieved cannot help but lend support to the collective bargaining method of achieving worker gains at this time.

Do wage guarantees mean a great expansion in the scope of collective bargaining? Are they the entering wedge for union control over more and more of the functions of management?

Such a contention finds little support in the new agreements. Indeed, management of a large, million-member union is itself a big business. As relationships between the union and managements have matured, increasing attention has been focussed on the job problems of workers. GAW will require an expanded union bureaucracy of experts.

The danger is not that, through wage guarantees, unions will take over management. It is that they will settle down to a businesslike, administrative existence.

New areas of union conquest are being exhausted. It could be that the very accomplishments of unions will reduce their future effectiveness.

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With friends in Congress and $1.5 million for propaganda, the gas industry hopes to escape from federal regulation

Piping Hot Air to the Consumer

by Walter Goodman

JUST to make sure that the American people don't wake up until the operation on their pocket-books is over, the producers of natural gas are spending $1.5 million on what the *Wall Street Journal* has called a "king-sized publicity campaign to persuade consumers that their best interest lies in removing the federal control decreed by the Supreme Court. . . . Newspapers, magazines, trade papers and radio and TV stations [are being] bombarded with feature stories and even suggested editorials pleading the gas producers' case."

The Supreme Court decision that has so aroused the gas producers came in June, 1954. A 5-to-3 ruling in the case of the Phillips Petroleum Company vs. Wisconsin upheld a lower court in saying that all sales of natural gas for resale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission. In contrast to previous interpretations of the Natural Gas Act of 1938, this meant that producers who do not themselves do any interstate shipping were now to be regulated under the provisions of that act, the primary aim of which, said the Court, is "to protect consumers against exploitation at the hands of the natural gas companies."

The natural gas industry is split into three major segments: producers, pipeliners and distributors. The producer—who is ordinarily in the oil business as well as in the natural gas business—explores for wells and develops them, and sells this output to the pipeliner. The pipeliner transports the gas from the well to the city distributor over a pipeline network which covers more miles than the nation's railroad tracks. He has been subject to FPC regulation since the passage of the Natural Gas Act. The distributor, in turn, supplies the gas to consumers in a given franchise area. Like any public utility, he is usually in a monopoly position, and his rates are set and supervised by state or city agencies.

Not so long ago natural gas, which is unavoidably produced along with oil, was burned as waste. In 1940 it was furnishing roughly 10 percent of the nation's total energy requirements. Today it furnishes 25 percent. The natural gas industry is now the sixth in size in the country, with total assets of more than $13.5 billion. It was in defense of this investment that the gas producers embarked on their expensive campaign for action to undo the 1954 Supreme Court decision. A dozen producers are now asking Federal courts to throw out the new FPC rules freezing their prices and subjecting them to regulation.

But the real drive to exempt the producers from control is being made in Congress. Republicans and gas-state Democrats on the House Commerce Committee have united to report an amendment to the Natural Gas Act sponsored by Rep. Oren Harris (D, Ark.). Like the Moore-Rizley bill which was killed in committee in the 80th Congress and the Kerr bill vetoed by President Truman in 1950, the Harris amendment would free non-transporting producers from direct federal regulation. A gesture toward consumer protection has been made by a provision directing the FPC to prevent interstate pipeliners from basing their own rates on anything more than a "reasonable market price" for the gas they buy. Presumably the pipeliners would refuse to pay producers more than the FPC considers a "reasonable market price." The pipeliners would, however, be permitted to increase their prices to distributors in accordance with the "escalation clauses" written into their contracts with

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the producers, which allow for definite periodic rate increases and higher gas prices to cover any future increase in producers' taxes.

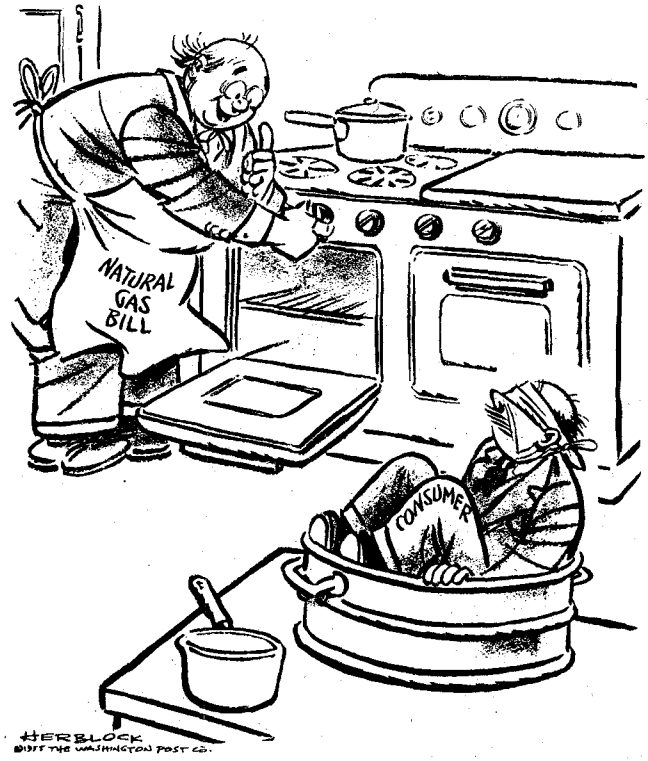
These allowances to the pipeliners threaten to put the squeeze on local distributors. A spokesman for the Consolidated Edison Company of New York and 15 other gas distributors in the Northeast has warned:

> Indications are that unless this trend of disorderly and unpredictable rate increases is halted, there is serious danger that natural gas may be priced out of the market in the Northeastern United States.

The FPC itself is not eager to exercise its newly delegated powers. FPC Chairman Jerome J. Kuykendall told the House Commerce Committee in March that a majority of his commission believed that "legislation should be enacted which will exempt from the operations of the Natural Gas Act independent producers and gatherers of natural gas who sell . . . at wholesale to pipeline companies." A month earlier the President's Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy—consisting of seven top Cabinet members and the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization—had likewise recommended that the production of natural gas be freed from federal regulation. The President has been at pains to avoid associating himself with this recommendation. As of this writing, the Budget Bureau, whose approval of a bill usually means White House support, has not taken a stand on the subject.

THE major argument of the oil gas industry against regulation, as put forward in their large and frequent newspaper advertisements, is that it runs counter to a freely competitive system and that private enterprise will protect the consumer better than federal interference—as durable a debating point as you're likely to come across. If coal and oil aren't regulated, they ask, why should natural gas be? They maintain they are in a hotly competitive industry, whose participants range from such giants as the Phillips Petroleum Co. to little Mrs. Katherine Ryan, a Longview, Texas, housewife who owns an oil lease that yields natural gas too. Price control, the producers warn, may so discourage them that they will simply give up their expensive and risky explorations and expand no further. They have also threatened to sell all their gas within their own states and thereby avoid any controls of interstate commerce.

Consumer groups are not shaken by the prospect of the producers turning into mollusks. They point out that FPC regulations aren't renowned for driving businessmen bankrupt. The oil companies are protected by a juicy 27.5 percent depletion allowance, and it is likely that natural gas will continue to be discovered along with new oil deposits, even if—and no one believes it will happen—the companies despair of making money on their explorations for natural gas alone.



"Don't peek—it's sort of a surprise"

The competition argument is merely amusing. It is true that there are some 4,000 or 5,000 or 8,000 (depending on whose figures you like) natural gas suppliers in the country, but 70 percent of them provide less than 0.3 percent of the gas sold to interstate pipeline companies. One hundred companies contribute 85 percent. Two of them—Phillips Petroleum and the Humble Oil Co. (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey) hold more than one-sixth of the nation's total reserves—about 34 trillion cubic feet. The value of their combined reserves increases at the rate of $1.7 billion with each five cents added to the fuel price. Five companies—Phillips, three Standard Oil firms, and Shell—account for 27 percent of the nation's total natural gas sales.

The contention that natural gas ought to sell in a free market, like coal or wheat, loses some force when one notes that buyers of natural gas can never buy in a free market. Pipeline companies must have a continuous supply for a long period in order to amortize their investments; they can't shop around for the best bargains. James R. Durfee of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission explained picturesquely in January why the Michigan-Wisconsin Pipeline Company agreed to a 70 percent rise and an escalator provision in its supply contract with Phillips Petroleum:

> The answer is that the Michigan-Wisconsin Pipeline Company was by that time committed to a contract to Phillips as its sole supplier. Its pipeline was authorized and partially constructed from Phillips' delivery point in Texas. The pipeline company was bound to

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> Phillips by its contract, by its FPC certificate, by the physical location of its pipeline, and by its capital investment in the line. It could not move its pipeline like a garden hose from one producer to another in search of lower prices.

Nor can the user of natural gas go to a supplier down the street if he feels he's being overcharged. In most cases, there is no supplier down the street. A single supplier normally sends gas through one pipeline to a particular area. His rate is based on what he is charged by the producer. Of course there are other fuels, but a consumer who becomes disgruntled with the price of natural gas is likely to be reluctant to switch, since he may have a thousand dollars tied up in equipment. As Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) said in his testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee on June 9:

> . . . once the lines are laid, the homes hooked into the utility systems and the cooking and heating appliances bought, the chance for the users of gas to get any real protection against unfair producers' prices by competition is nil.

The danger that threatens the users was expressed in April by Philadelphia's Mayor Clark—with the concurrence of the mayors of 49 other American cities:

> To eliminate controls from the price at which gas is purchased in the field is to leave the consumer at the mercy of the small group of oil companies which control the bulk of the gas reserves in this country.

Raising the price of gas one cent a cubic foot would add $400,000 to the annual gas bill of Philadelphia, Clark estimated. Mayor Robert F. Wagner figures that the same rise would cost New York City's gas users about $1 million. A group of consumer representatives who called on the White House in March told the President that the proposed legislation would result in rate increases of from $200 million to $400 million a year. Leland Olds, former FPC chairman under the Democratic Administration, contends that US consumers may have to pay $800 million a year more for natural gas if the Harris amendment goes through.

The oil-gas companies (which fervently deny they want to raise rates; they just don't want to be prevented from raising them) stand to gain two ways by boosting the cost of natural gas to the consumer—a cost which has gone up about 40 percent since the war. Not only would they rake in larger profits from the sale of the gas, but they would simultaneously be preventing any effective price competition with their oil supplies. If the cost of natural gas goes so high that it is priced out of the fuel market, as has already occurred in New England, the producer can always recommend a switch to oil—the price of which he and his friendly competitors strictly control. (See *NR*, June 13, 1955.)

While municipalities, pipeliners and distributors are worried over rates being raised too high too fast, spokesmen for the coal industry have expressed concern that the unregulated producers may cut their prices sharply in strategic areas to entrench themselves at the expense of coal.

Seven states in the Southwest—Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Mississippi and Arkansas—account for 90 percent of the country's total natural gas reserves and production. This statistic, in turn, accounts for the sharp split between Democrats in Congress on the issue of regulation, as demonstrated by the Commerce Committee's vote to report the Harris bill. The tally was 16 to 15, with six Democrats—all from gas-producing states—voting to report and 11 from gas-consuming states voting to kill.

The Republicans from consumer states who voted for the bill were apparently doing so on the strength of anti-Federal regulation sentiment.

THE WARNING, put forward in a study made of Energy Research Associates, that a rise in the price of natural gas may deprive the Southwestern states of a valuable attraction to new industry has not been taken to heart by legislators from the area.

One finds usually enlightened J. William Fulbright, the Junior Senator from Arkansas, a state rich in natural gas reserves, sponsoring a bill to exempt the oil-gas producers from Federal regulation. Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, whose state of Texas produces 55 percent of the natural gas all by itself, was instrumental in blocking an appropriation of $300,000 which would have enabled the FPC to set its regulatory machinery in motion. Paul Douglas, the Junior Senator from Illinois, a state important in the use of the fuel, is among the most vociferous opponents of the Harris amendment.

There is dissension on the other side of the aisle too. Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) is found leading a consumers' delegation to the White House, while his famous colleague, Joe McCarthy (R, Wis.), who is on first-name terms with H. L. Hunt and other Texas oil and gas millionaires, is amenable to exempting his friends.

The stakes amount to many millions of dollars for a handful of producers and a few pennies a month for each of the 20 million consumer families—which goes to explain both the well-organized and well-financed producer campaign for the Harris amendment and the lack of general interest in the subject.

But the principle cannot be measured in dollars and cents. As Leland Olds put it:

> The country faces a concert of oil companies, capable of monopoly control of large blocks of natural gas reserves which are necessary to supply interest to utility markets. This means that either regulation in the public interest or monopoly domination is going to fix the ultimate cost of this utility service to consumers. If the proposal to amend the Natural Gas Act is carried out, it will be a victory for monopoly.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

RE-ASSESSMENT: 1955

What Edith Wharton Saw in Innocence

by Louis O. Coxe

IT seems unlikely that in putting down my feelings about *The Age of Innocence* I will entirely escape the charge —always justified—of prejudice. One tends in criticism to use a work or a writer as a stick with which to beat other works and writers, or worse still, other critics, with the result that the book one is concerned with rather escapes. This danger looms larger in the case of the best known novels and poems, those works which have created schools, reputations, endowed chairs and new stacks in libraries. I have no such oppressive imminence above me in this instance. We all await the release, some fourteen years hence, of Edith Wharton's private papers, and although most students of American literature know the Wharton name and may have read *Ethan Frome,* too few seem to have become acquainted with the entire reach of her work, much of which, one has to confess at once, has value only for the specialist. *The Age of Innocence* has been variously judged, and one of the more recent critics of Edith Wharton places it rather lower than *The House of Mirth,* a judgment with which I disagree, largely, in this instance, because I think the critic seriously misreads the novel.

But all such matters apart, one still has the problem of telling readers, some in the know, some outside, just what it is that strikes oneself as distinctive and impressive about the book. How to get the reader to go back to *The Age of Innocence* convinced of pleasure and profit to come? Times and readers change but this novel, written at the height of Edith Wharton's powers, retains a power the gradual release of which one becomes aware of with time, with acquaintance, with a more delicate attuning of the ear and the sensibility to the things Edith Wharton was writing about. And it seems to me one of the graces and delights of the *Age of Innocence* lies exactly in the multifariousness of its thematic material, in its refusal to tie itself down to "meaning," the while that it glitters with a density, a hardness of surface that only a truly novelistic eye could have seen and an informing mind recreate.

The seeing is the thing. What does Conrad say? "It is above all to make you *see* . . . and it is everything." I know of no other American novelist with Edith Wharton's power (in this book, at any rate) of simple vision, of showing us who was there and in what grouping, what juxtapositions. The very opening moment of the novel serves as an example: the scene at the opera. Newland Archer and his beautifully dressed, languidly self-assured companions, the tenor and the soprano on the ornate stage, May Welland all in white and pink. Then the entrance into the Mingott box of the Countess Olenska, the dark lady of this plot! Nowhere does Edith Wharton's grip relax; her hold on actuality is everywhere firm. She has been there—she knows. From the smallest flower in the Beaufort conservatory to the styling of dresses by Worth in the seventies—she knows it all and she knows how to put it before us in all its appeal of the rare, the far-off, the perhaps absurd. And in so doing, she does not patronize either her readers or her characters and their world; in fact, the irony cuts several ways at once, with the result that those of us who succumb to the temptation of contempt for fashionable New York society in the seventies get our comeuppance; she does not flatter us with the delusion that we have progressed or found a new freedom. We have simply changed masters.

The scenes that strike us so vividly throughout the novel are of different sorts, and not one seems there for its own sake. The wonderfully vivid tableau of May, the still glowing, Dianaesque matron on the lawn at Newport, bow at shoulder, while the rosy girls watch her marksmanship and the idle gentlemen assess the ladies and their quality—surely no delight in mere grouping and bric a brac, though such delight is legitimate on the author's part and ours, but a lively sense of surface and attitude, without which no deeper probing is possible. And the probing takes us deep enough for comfort, down to the quick of a society, a world, a whole history of the American sensibility.

THAT indeed seems to emerge as the finest quality of Edith Wharton's theme in *The Age of Innocence,* the whole question of the old and the new, of passion and duty, of the life of the feelings and that of the senses. For us, reading the book some thirty-five years after its publication, the complexities of meaning alone make the novel seem far richer than many another more highly touted. And again, here is no apparatus, composed of symbols, near-allegory and didacticism, but a tissue of objects, places, attitudes and desires.

If one can plump for a single "meaning" that the book may hold for us today, it may well be that of the lost life of feeling, the kind of life, the kinds of feeling, that Newland Archer's son seems utterly incapable of understanding or knowing. At the very end, when Newland Archer, for the last time, retreats from Ellen Olenska and from the sort of experience his son Dallas is only too glad to meet, we feel the fullness of the irony. Archer, with his insecurity, his sensitivity and his passion has obeyed the moral imperatives of his class and time and has given up Ellen and love for the furtherance of the shallow-seeming aims, all amorphous as they are, of his world. He has stuck to May and to his New York, giving up another world.

What has he got in return? Another writer would perhaps say, quite simply, "Nothing" and indict the time and himself along with it, but of course to Edith Wharton "everything is true in a different sense." What Newland has lost is not Ellen, but May, whom he never took pains to know or to love, May who knew

Coming

The third essay in this series of reassessments, which will appear in the next issue, is an appraisal by Seymour Krim of Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio.*

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all along the extent and the fullness of her husband's "sacrifice." That the first inkling Archer gains of this should come from the casual, almost flippant, remarks of his son Dallas adds another twist to the ironic knot. What does Dallas know of the life of the feelings and passions, he who has always known who he is, what he wants, where he is going? He has only to ask and it is straightaway made clear to him: "What's the use of making mysteries?" says Dallas, "It only makes people want to nose 'em out." And we quite agree, knowing with our unerring hindsight that the best that can be said for Dallas' world is that he and his fellows knew not what mysteries they made, whereas Archer and his contemporaries most certainly did. For Dallas it would have been so simple: run away with Ellen Olenska and hang what people will say. It is no longer necessary for him to run and scandalize in order that he may enjoy Fanny Beaufort. Times have changed, and in this simpler and freer world of Dallas' young manhood, there are no occasions to exercise the feelings nor nourish passion. Like every son who ever was, he can see in the married life of his parents only the grim, the incommunicable, the faintly ludicrous:

> ". . . you date, you see, dear old boy. But mother said. . . ."
>
> "Your mother?"
>
> "Yes: the day before she died It was when she sent for me alone—you remember? She said she knew we were safe with you and always would be, because once, when she asked you to, you'd given up the thing you most wanted."
>
> Archer received this communication in silence. . . . At length he said in a low voice: "She never asked me."
>
> "No. I forgot. You never did ask each other anything, did you? And you never told each other anything. You just sat and watched each other, and guessed at what was going on underneath. A deaf-and-dumb asylum, in fact! Well, I back your generation for knowing more about each other's private thoughts than we ever have time to find out about our own.—I say, Dad," Dallas broke off, "you're not angry with me? If you are, let's make it up and go and lunch at Henri's. I've got to rush out to Versailles afterward."

For Dallas, it is just that simple—and what a knot of irony has tightened in this brief passage! Can Dallas or anyone like him begin to understand the meaning of the kind of feelings Archer has known? Have they the time? the imagination? the passion? What can the notion of a buried life mean to one who can conceive only of surface? As Archer himself puts it to himself . . . "the thing one's so certain of in advance: can it ever make one's heart beat wildly?"

Newland Archer does not say this to his son. Times have changed and the steady cultivation of the affections, of nuances of feeling which only an ordered society allows seems to the new generation "a deaf and dumb asylum." Dallas and his contemporaries have a kindly contempt for such old-fashioned, illiberal notions, would throw down all the canons by which a rigid society governed its members. Archer, who sees that "there [is] good in the new order too" still asks:

> What was left of the little world he had grown up in, and whose standards had bent and bound him?

And again:

> "That's it: they (Dallas' generation) feel equal to things—they know their way about," he mused, thinking of his son as the spokesman of the new generation which had swept away all the old landmarks, and with them the sign-posts and the danger-signals."

And the danger signal! The innocence of Newland Archer, to think that the society of which he was a part could set and keep the life it sought—could hold it, make it last by, by occasional raids on dissenters and backsliders by the van der Luydens, come down in all their minatory splendor from Skuytercliff—to keep offenders in line! All dreadfully amusing—and yet. . . . And yet the innocence of Dallas to propose remaking the world and human nature—to think that to cast off one form of bondage means freedom.

HERE (one hesitates on the threshold of sociology) we are back at the Americanism of our novel and the old saw of American innocence, the curious underside of it that the novelists (the best of them) alone can show us. What have we here in Newland Archer but Lambert Strether seen from another point of view—and from both points he figures as American. My lost youth. Lost, all lost. The discovery, too late, that what one had known as final is all too patently, seen from here and now, no such matter. If James would in some sort show us that America is too simple, too unknowing, Edith Wharton seems to be saying that only if America can evolve a society which feels deeply and can say what it feels can it do more than shift from generation to generation, without a sense of the past, without depth, without blessing. What to feel with and about, we wonder, contemplating the prospect. *The Age of Innocence* makes this clear enough, I think, to us in 1955 who have rather more sense of what the Dallases of the twentieth century have got us into, all innocent as they were. The total commitment of May to her world and to Newland Archer: is there nothing admirable in this? Nothing of the heroic? For I believe that if any character in this novel partakes of the heroic nature, it is indeed May Welland, she of the pink and white surface and the candid glance, whose capacity for passion and sacrifice her husband never knew. And—irony again—her son Dallas sees it all so clearly, but it is to him "prehistoric," "dated." The innocence of May Welland, so perfectly adjusted to her society, so much a product of "race, moment, milieu," takes on at least a kind of grandeur which, if we put any stock at all these days in the uncommon, approaches the tragic.

EDITH WHARTON is very clear about all of this: she opposes Archer, the near-rebel, with May, the total conformist. Here a lesser novelist would have been content to rest, in the mere showing of the processes by which an American with separatist tendencies is broken to harness and curb. That she does not leave it at this adds dimension to the book and to the novelist's vision. The emphasis here rests finally upon the ways in which an individual, in more or less settled times, can come to identify his illusions with those of his world. The rightness or wrongness of such identification we may determine if we can, though for my part I would say that the triumph of Edith Wharton's realism strikes one as most sweeping in just her very refusal to draw any such line: she seems merely to say, that is the way things were for these people. Had you done differently, it would have been a different time, place and cast.

If this novel is not quite a retelling

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of *Bérénice* there is in it some, at least, of Racine's sense of fatality and of the course of duty as a form of fate to be defied at one's peril. As Archer quite clearly sees, to follow one's simple duty means that one must in some sense lose one's life. Yet this is not really the tragedy for Archer; it comes at last, as we have seen, to his final inability to see that if he cannot—must not—have Ellen and the rich life of "Europe," he still has May. But having once had a vision of Ellen Olenska and her passion, May, the white and conventional counterpart of Ellen, must figure to him as the embodiment of the society that denies the vision's fulfillment. It is not so, of course. With his careful, lifelong cultivation of the sensibilities and the passions, Newland Archer has unfitted himself for passionate, devoted action. May has the last word. How rich in its suffering and incommunicable love must have been her buried life! And that very capacity to feel and to suffer serves as a cousinly and female bond between the fair lady and the dark—between May and Ellen. Archer, the object of two such loves, has never been able to take the risk of either.

What a waste! Is that what one says on finishing the book? Perhaps. All that wasted motion, feeling, suffering. All that Past blotted out by change and the nice detergent of the new generation. In a sense, America *is* waste, as Edith Wharton very well knew—wasteful of its past, that greatest of resources. Yet we today, who have perhaps a nostalgia for such past times as that Edith Wharton dwells on, would do well to realize how supremely well she makes us heirs and possessors of that long-ago world. If the backward longing for the twenties Fitzgerald provoked and could not satisfy came to nothing, it may be that another novelist shall one day possess it for us, as Hawthorne possessed for us the New England of our inescapable origins. Bit by bit they will piece our American grand tour together, the novelists. We may very well not like what we find. But when we do find it—not complete but moving—we shall give Edith Wharton more of her due than she has yet received. Beyond that, and there really are things and places beyond America, we can do honor to one of the fine novels of our century. We can try to read it.

The Example of Lord Beveridge

by John F. Golay

Apart from what we can learn from it of one of the great men of our time, the publication in the United States of Lord Beveridge's autobiography, *Power and Influence,* is welcome for two other reasons. It may serve to remind Americans who received the Beveridge Plan and its author with such enthusiasm twelve years ago, how far short this nation, with all its wealth and resources, still falls in achieving for itself the goal which Beveridge set for Britain: the provision, as of right, of an income adequate to ensure the necessities of life to all in sickness, invalidity, disability, unemployment, widowhood, orphanhood and old age.

Power and Influence, by Lord Beveridge (Beechhurst; $5).

It may also put fresh heart into those of our own reformers who may be discouraged by the prevailing public complacency and frustrated by a national administration for whom it seems to be an article of faith that the well-being of our country is best left to be settled by a free scramble between organized interests. For the great lesson Beveridge's book teaches is how much solid reform it has been possible for one man, armed only with knowledge, a disinterested but powerful and imaginative mind, and strength of purpose, to bring about in an era in which the exercise of power has come to rest only with those who ally themselves with one or another of the great aggregations of interests.

As Beveridge himself writes, while he has seldom exercised "power," and that only under short-term delegation from those who possessed it, he has never lacked "influence." Wealth, social connections, self-promotion, the cultivation of "public relations"—none of these was the source of Beveridge's influence. He acquired his influence in the affairs of his country by knowing more and thinking to better purpose than anyone else about the problems he set out to solve, and employing this knowledge in a ceaseless stream of newspaper articles, books, government documents and broadcasts to convince the British people and their successive governments of the rightness of his conclusions and proposals for reform. This, it may be said, is nothing new: this was the classic method of his great predecessors of the nineteenth century. The important thing that Beveridge's career and his book about it discloses is that the method can still work.

At the start of his career, the climate of public life in Great Britain, created by the Liberal administration of 1906-16, was more favorable to Beveridge's projects than it was ever to be again. The circumstances in which he was brought into the government service and enabled to introduce the first of his reforms were characteristic. Living among working people in the East End of London, young William Henry Beveridge had set himself to learn all he could about unemployment. He was soon passing on what he had learned in testimony before committees and commissions and in "leaders" written for *The Morning Post.* His findings were incorporated in *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry,* which promptly became, as it still is, a classic of economic literature. Beveridge's investigations converged with those which Sidney and Beatrice Webb were making in connection with their studies for the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. They made the interests of the young reformer and his cause their own, and introduced him to Winston Churchill, shortly to become President of the Board of Trade. He invited Beveridge to join the labor department of his ministry, where, in collaboration with his chief, Hubert Llewellyn-Smith, Beveridge developed a national network of labor exchanges to bring order into the labor market and the first national scheme of unemployment insurance. By this action, Churchill contributed the most important of his often-boasted services to the cause of social insurance. Thirty-five years later he all but undid this service by his bungled handling of Beveridge's plan.

In the two wars, but particularly the

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second, Beveridge was caught in the cross-fire between the great interests, management and labor in the country at large, and the departments of government and the armed forces in Whitehall. His eye, as always, was on the problem: how to secure the maximum mobilization of the country's resources for total war with justice alike for the soldier at the front and the worker at home. Non-essential industries hoarding skilled labor, trade unions clinging to peace-time employment rights, and civil servants defending departmental jurisdictions inappropriate in war conditions inevitably fell afoul of anyone with Beveridge's single-mindedness of aim. Long before the Churchill government came to power, in articles in *The Times* and memoranda solicited by and furnished to Ministers and their officials, Beveridge had foreseen the nature of the second war and the measures for civilian mobilization and civil defense which it would require. The Chamberlain government ignored Beveridge's, as it did all advice.

He was the last of the "Old Dogs," as Mr. Roy Harrod has described them —Maynard Keynes, Sir Walter Layton, and Sir Arthur Salter—to find his way back to government service. He passed over other opportunities because he believed that "manpower" was the key problem and that he was best qualified to make a contribution in that field. In 1940 he was commissioned by Ernest Bevin to conduct a national survey of manpower, but there was never much hope that Beveridge would get far with a Minister of Labor in the psychologically difficult position of having to turn round and impose measures on the workers of Britain for whom he had been fighting all his life. In retrospect, it is astonishing how much Beveridge managed to accomplish or set in motion in his year's connection with the Ministry of Labor: a basic re-allocation of manpower between the armed forces and industries, a schedule of reserved occupations to implement it, the training and upgrading of semi- and unskilled labor, conscription of women, and measures to get skilled men properly used in the forces, including the establishment of a Royal Corps of Mechanical and Electrical Engineers. When Bevin had at length accepted the principal of all this, he did not call upon Beveridge to implement it, but appointed one of his civil servants as director-general of manpower.

For Beveridge, Bevin found a job far removed from the immediate concerns of his ministry: chairmanship of an inter-departmental committee to examine and report on the social insurances and allied services. "So," Beveridge writes, "I was bowed out from Whitehall. The cricket on the hearth was driven into the winter of post-war reconstruction with a small fire of temporary war work . . . to keep him warm."

It was characteristic that Beveridge should turn an inquiry, intended by the government to lead at most to "administrative changes" in existing social insurance schemes, into a sweeping re-examination of the whole basis of insurance and public assistance in relation to poverty and its causes. The report and plan, as it evolved, although retaining the insurance principle, became a comprehensive social security program aimed at putting a floor above want by creating a national minimum. It was to be financed, not just by redistributing working-class incomes, but by a redistribution embracing the whole community. The contributory principle was retained to give the insured a feeling of responsibility and of having a "stake" in the scheme, and to reinforce the principle that adequate benefit should be paid as of right.

This is not the place to analyze the Beveridge Plan in detail, but two comments may be made. Because of the prohibitive cost to a strained post-war economy, Beveridge, after consultation with Keynes, felt obliged to depart from the principle of "adequate benefit as of right" for old-age pensioners. He provided instead that pensions for which the full number of contributions had not been paid should only rise to the full rate over a transition period, with public assistance, subject to proof of need, to supplement the deficiency for that period: a hard choice, but unavoidable, he felt, for a country with straitened finances and a progressively aging population. He also "assumed" the establishment of a free public health service as necessary to the realization of the "national minimum," but made no recommendations on it.

The rest of the world (or at least the Allied part of it), for whom the Beveridge Plan seemed to make good the generalities of the Atlantic Charter, gave it a history-making reception. But not Mr. Churchill's government. It first attempted to suppress all publicity, forbade treatment of the plan in the Army's current affairs discussions for the troops, and studiously evaded questions in the House of Commons. After two years of silence, the government, a few months before the general election of 1945, faced about, and, without a word of consultation with Beveridge, rushed ahead with measures of its own to establish a national health service (on which no inquiry as to practicability, cost, or consultation with the medical profession had been held), and to raise old-age pensions at once, although not of course to the subsistence figure. Both the financial basis of Beveridge's Plan and the principle of "adequate benefit as of right" which he had hoped to preserve as the goal for old-age pensions were thus prejudiced. The government seemed recklessly determined to outbid Beveridge, whatever the cost.

The government did not survive to do its worst. Its Labour successor put Beveridge's Plan into effect without substantial change, although, of course, on the health service and old-age pensions it could not do less than the coalition government had offered.

Since the plan took effect, social security benefits in Britain have not kept up to the subsistence level. At the end of 1952, one in every four persons on retirement or widow's pensions, one in five on unemployment benefit, one in seven on sickness benefit, were receiving national assistance as well. This does reflect on the soundness of Beveridge's plan and his financial assumptions. On the contrary, a part of the difficulty has arisen just because of the failure of governments to follow the priorities in introducing the scheme which Beveridge had laid down. But the greater part of the trouble lies, as Lady Beveridge has justly observed, in trying to "combine solid human progress with perpetual cold war." The defense burden, which has strained the resources of countries better placed than Great Britain and forced prices up, has taken the millions needed to raise social security benefits to meet the rise of prices.

Beveridge tells his story with considerable art. Thanks to his family and devoted secretaries and assistants, he has

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been able to draw on a wealth of material—letters, memoranda, newspaper cuttings—spanning the whole of his career. Like all good historians, he lets the record speak for him where it can. The style is simple and clear. The rhetorical turns of phrase are telling and well-timed: they do not distract and weary the mind as does so much British writing about affairs of state.

Beveridge's friends will find that many of his personal characteristics come through well in this autobiography: for example, his sense of fun and delight in ingenious pastimes and games; the modest habit of minimizing his successes (and disappointments) by adopting a facetious and self-mocking manner.

Other characteristics, naturally, do not appear. I may mention two. The first is the quality which seems to me most to distinguish Beveridge in the company of eminent economists and administrators who have been his contemporaries and colleagues. He possesses in high degree what, for want of a better term, I call the power of practical imagination: the ability, first, to grasp and hold in mind great masses of confusing and apparently contingent facts and to see their real underlying relationships; next, to envisage alternative measures for dealing with these facts and to foresee their consequences, near and remote; and, finally, to hit upon just those measures which do on balance benefit a modern community, with all its varied needs and interests and purposes. In this respect, it seems to me that Beveridge must be the prototype for leaders of democratic communities in the future.

The second quality, and I refer to it with some diffidence, is his extraordinary sweetness of nature. Others have commented upon his success with the young; I can testify to it. The chances of war brought me into Beveridge's service and into close association with him in Whitehall in the months of Britain's worst adversity. Looking back, I cannot help thinking what a trial that twenty-one year old youth from a different world—callow, ill-trained, thoughtless—must sometimes have been for Beveridge. Yet I never had any feeling but of being treated as a friend and comrade in great projects: a remarkable achievement for any man of Beveridge's age and experience, whatever his eminence.

From the Slums of Johannesburg

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

PETER ABRAHAMS, the gifted native writer from South Africa and author of last year's *Tell Freedom,* has just published his second novel. *Mine Boy,* produced in a paper bound edition in an experimental effort to cut costs on relatively unkown writers, is a short, terse and highly readable account of life in the slums of Johannesburg.

Mr. Abrahams starts out with a very clever idea. Xuma, an ignorant but sensitive Bantu tribesman from the north country, drifts to the city searching for work. Immediately he is sucked into the vortex of sex, violence, drink and racial tension in which the blacks are condemned to live. A strong-willed woman by the name of Leah, who illegally sells beer, gives him lodging, and through her his tale of adventure begins. The house of Leah is a center of intrigue. Prostitutes pawn their bodies to the drunken customers. Paid white informers whisper their secrets of the next raid. Xuma meets two women in a classical triangle, Maisy, a child of the people who is only too willing to share her body with the handsome stranger, and Eliza, a more sophisticated type who yearns to "make white" though hopelessly encased by dark skin. Then Xuma finds work at the mines and, in the most interesting part of the story, soon becomes boss boy for a gang operating under white supervision. A strike breaks out because of inadequate safety precautions and, in a rather artificial *denouement,* Xuma takes the lead with his immediate white supervisor, surrendering himself at the end to the police with the knowledge that since he and his supervisor were united in their common hatred of exploitation, there is neither white nor black but only the bond of humanity. The twofold technique—the conflict of the simple tribal loyalties of Xuma with the habits of the other cosmopolitan Bantu, and the overriding friction between white and black—is the device through which the author explains the tensions of South Africa.

One can only feel the deepest sympathy with the approach of Peter Abrahams. Novels of strong appeal dealing with social conditions, by their immediate contact with the human heart, do more to change society than tomes of learned sociology: as has often been said, Dickens changed England more radically than Karl Marx and even *Gone With the Wind* has not been completely able to erase the work of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Unfortunately, Mr. Abrahams has not captured the material to the extent which we might wish and his first novel, *Tell Freedom,* is on a far superior imaginative level. The fault lies mainly in style. The author has been eating busily at the table of his more famous contemporaries to the default of his own innate talent, and the unhappy result is that blacks from South Africa talk and act like characters from Hemingway. Mr. Abrahams' style is literal and repetitious, deliberately limited to surface emotions, and with a change of names, the events might just as well occur in a mining district of Kentucky or northern England.

What redeems *Mine Boy* and, even more, the first novel of the author, is his wonder-filled sense of life. He undoubtedly has talent, great talent for capturing the image of the miraculous behind our most trivial actions, but seems to be straining to create "types" and clipped dialogue: only as he relaxes does the music sing, the music of a native art related to rhythm rather than complex structure. When Peter Abrahams recounts the dance of sexually hungry feet, the rising of savage dignity through the mud of alcohol, the collective fear in the dark mine pit, he chants in poetry. In that he declines from his own potential, we feel a sadness, as though a Ravel were wasting himself by imitating Bachian counterpoint. And the isolation of the characters of *Mine Boy* from all mystical and totem ties, their spiritual integration into the white man's set of secular values, shows that Mr. Abrahams is writing to explain the black to the white in white man's terms. We see a Kaffir as a black man with a European soul, an abstraction of dark pigment. This is art —but it is not Africa.

Mine Boy, by Peter Abrahams (Knopf; $1.25).

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FILMS

THE BADNESS of most recent films is such that in attempting to review them, description sometimes turns to satire in the midst of a sentence. This is the original temptation of the film critic and clearly a waste of time, most of the time. Sixty million human beings go to the motion pictures every week in the United States: they may be wrong, but the conscious experience they so faithfully seek is not merely a subject of comedy. *The Long Gray Line, Captain Lightfoot, Untamed* and *Mambo* are all typical of Hollywood's groping, grabbing at anything, its uncertainty, and its disorganized energy. *Mambo* was made in Italy, but the same desperate principle of composition occurs: the greater the uncertainty about the film, the greater the tendency to cram every kind of effect into it. Nevertheless these four films and a great many other things related to recent films have the one virtue of suggesting questions about the making of films. The questions are hardly answerable except by means of speculation without conviction. But the questions are answers, in a way. Each one of them defines what is wrong either in a new film or in the mind of the beholder.

Thus *The Long Gray Line* was directed by John Ford. The question here is how the same man who directed *The Informer, Stagecoach, When Johnny Comes Marching Home,* and several other first-rate films managed to turn out something so poor. The picture is another one of the long gray line of biographical films which draw upon the passage of the years an inexhaustible source of sentimentality, to mention only that quality of the film which Ford's best pictures sometimes attack beautifully.

Captain Lightfoot presents a like problem. It is based upon W. R. Burnett's most recent novel, and this in itself of course would not be enough to make the perplexity so pointed. But the film is as dreary as the novel is delightful, although Burnett himself adapted the novel for the screen. Burnett's gifts as a novelist, which are underestimated or ignored are not relevant here except for the fact that since beginning his career his fiction has provided the substance of some of the best and most characteristic Hollywood films. *Little Caesar*, which appeared more than a generation ago, was one of the first of his novels to make an excellent picture, and to lend genuine and serious perceptions to the gangster film at a time when the genre was still developing. Since then there have been so many other films based on novels by Burnett—among them, *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* and *The Asphalt Jungle*—that it is difficult to think of another practicing writer of fiction who has provided so much good screen material and difficult to doubt that some natural affinity was responsible for the excellence of the films which were the result. To phrase the question with the utmost sharpness: how is it that the worst of all films based upon Burnett's fiction should be not only one of his most engaging novels but should also be the one which the novelist himself adapted for the screen? It is possible that the process of adaptation is itself an extremely special skill.

The script of *Mambo* was written by an excellent Italian writer too, and the cast includes Katherine Dunham and her company in addition to Silvana Mangano and Shelley Winters, yet the result is nothing but an immense waste of talent. After the opening episode, which has an extraordinary dramatic vitality, Katherine Dunham and her dancers seldom get a chance to bend a knee, but instead they sit and stand about expressing their understandable depression about the lack of enthusiasm for dancing upon the part of the heroine and other leading characters. The intention appears to be to make a truly American film, and of this instance, as of most others, one can say that the more American the intention of an Italian film the more the result is *Rigoletto* all over again, or some other pure ham, which remains *prosciuto* no matter how it is sliced. Here the real question is: why should the makers of Italian films want to imitate Hollywood?

The worst of these films is *Untamed*, and though there have been worse films, the energy of the new picture makes one forget the others. Among other traits which make it remarkably bad is the fact that Susan Hayward as the heroine causes the death of her husband and gives birth to an illegitimate child with an impunity which verges upon triumph. Instead of suffering the proverbial wages of sin, she enjoys the handsome compensation of Tyrone Power. Wholly apart from the conventional morality of motion pictures, the vicious and barbarous part played by Miss Hayward compels one to think of the placards which appeared on the screen in the halcyon days of the silent film: *"No pictures will be shown here which are not perfectly moral and clean."* This is precisely the kind of film which ought to be cited as truly immoral whenever the question of the morality of films arises.

These films have moments or passages which link them with many other films of the past year in one important way, the persistent and apparently irresistible magnetism of the Western as a genre. Thus James Cagney, so long the classic Hollywood gangster, is a sheriff in *Run For Cover*. Victor Mature, who has moved through every era of man, including the prehistoric, but seemed most himself in the Ice Age, becomes, as the title indicates, an Indian in *Chief Crazy Horse*. There are many other examples of a great variety: the Western is no longer restricted to the old West, nor it is limited to North America.

In *Untamed* the classic migration of the pioneer occurs, although the covered wagons are smaller, the prairie is placed by the veldt, and the redskins by Zulus, when the settlers are surrounded, and the covered wagons form a circle to resist the Zulus' attack, the essential pioneer drama makes the difference between North America and South Africa meaningless. In a like way, *Captain Lightfoot* becomes exciting only at the end when, during a struggle between Irish rebels and English soldiers, the situation and the terrain combine to make the difference between redcoats and redskins disappear. A final instance which ought to be described in more detail in the way in which even historical films are transferred into

Notes on Contributors

LOUIS O. COXE is a poet and critic who teaches at the University of Minnesota. He co-authored the stage version of *Billy Budd*. After several years at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, followed by service in the RAF in World War II, J. F. GOLAY worked with Lord Beveridge during the preparation of his famous Report. DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG is a New York businessman.

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Westerns by making the most of movement of nomads upon horses over wide open spaces.

The Western has always been popular, but the hold it now exercises is so great that it hardly seems a genre any longer. And this phenomenon clearly is the same kind of thing and has the same roots as the present eminence of Davy Crockett in the role of the purely American hero. *Time's* comment on the latter fashion must be quoted:

> Why should Davy Crockett . . . whose story has been around for a long time suddenly click as a meaningful figure to Americans, young and old . . . Myths have meaning . . . Davy Crocket is the epitome of a man who can lick any problem with his wits and his own two hands.

This is the chief reason for the renewal of the Western too, but the explanation can be made far more concrete and exact; in *A Bullet is Waiting* which appeared last fall, the story is set in the present, and this is probably why the film was not labeled a Western, although it resorts to every typical Western element: the fugitive bandit, the sheriff in pursuit, the girl, the gun play, and the great outdoors. What is most illuminating is the motive of the heroine's father, an English author; it was the news of the atom bomb which made him depart from England and seek complete isolation for himself and his daughter in God's country. It is this sense of the present, in one or another form and intensity which makes the old West the image of the heroic age as never before. When human beings feel more and more that survival, happiness and the quality of life depend on uncontrollable and hidden powers, when they feel certain only that they are helpless in the face of history, what could be more attractive than an epoch in the past when a gun was enough to keep a man alive and a horse sufficed to ride to destiny? It makes one think of an immortal remark of the immortal William S. Hart: "I got along finely with most Eastern boys, but they did not understand me or my ways." The way that things have been panning out, it looks like us Eastern fellows can hardly understand anything else but old William S. Hart, home on the range, contending with nothing more complex than Comanches and cattle rustlers.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

CORRESPONDENCE

► The Wiretap Scandal

SIRS:

Mark Twain said: "Everybody talks about the weather; nobody does anything about it." So, everybody for years has been talking about wiretapping; nobody has done anything about it. The time has indeed come when public consciousness . . . will demand a remedy. I was, therefore, pleased to read Alan Westin's informative article ("The Wiretap Scandal," *NR,* June 20).

As chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, I ordered and held extensive hearings which explored all facets of the problem, not confining itself to the five bills before it. We heard testimony from officials—national, state and municipal—and received testimony from technical experts, officials of the phone companies and representatives of various private organizations which included labor, management and public service groups. These explorations were made by the subcommittee of which I am chairman.

The subcommittee is well aware of the difficulties inherent in the problem. The national interest must be weighed against "the right of castle." Moreover, there is little doubt in the subcommittee that wiretapping should be banned. But the subcommittee, in the national interest, cannot lose sight of the complexities that attend upon an effective and constitutional approach to reaching the objective.

Among the questions to be considered are: (1) Should the federal goverment pre-empt exclusively to itself this field, thus destroying all of the state law on wiretapping? Would that not be an undue interference with the police powers of the state? (2) If a general ban is enacted, what exception, if any, should be made therein? Should we exempt states and permit them to control intrastate activities relating to wiretapping? Should exceptions be made solely for the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning crimes relating to national security, or should the intelligence agencies of our Armed Forces and Central Intelligence Agency be included? Should the exemption be limited only to crimes involving national security such as espionage, sabotage, treason, sedition, or should we extend it to such other infamous crimes as kidnapping or narcotic law violations? (3) What safeguards should be placed about any exceptions. Should the procedure be written authorization by the Attorney General or should it require the approval by a United States judge in an *ex parte* proceeding? There are those who believe that the latter question raises a very serious question of constitutional law as to whether or not Congress can authorize a judge to issue such an order.

These questions will all have to be resolved before adequate and workable legislation can be acted upon by the Congress. I believe personally that granting the power to a United States court to grant such an order is a primary requisite and essential to any wiretap legislation. I would not wish to place in the hands of the Attorney General the power of authorization. I do not say this out of any political bias, since we do not legislate for the present only. In the foreseeable future we may well have a Democratic Attorney General.

I likewise hold to the conviction that wiretapping is, as Justice Holmes said, "dirty business," and should be banned. However, I appreciate the need to protect our national interests in security matters and am convinced that that particular phase of the problem should be the exception to the ban, and no other. I am not in favor of including other high crimes such as kidnapping and narcotic violations to the exception. I fear that should you open the door for such a crime as kidnapping or narcotic violation, we would create precedents whereby, as time goes on, other crimes of a less heinous nature could be added until we reach that point as now exists in some states where wiretapping is permitted in any and all crimes. . . .

These, then, are the problems that confront us and I am hopeful that in a short time we can resolve them. . . . We shall have a bill reported to the House by the Judiciary Committee within a short period.

EMANUEL CELLER
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee
Washington, D. C.

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► Varieties of Religious Revival

SIRS:

The first substantial dividend from my investment in a *New Republic* subscription was the article by Reinhold Niebuhr "Varieties of Religious Revival" (*NR*, June 6).

As reportage, the article was compact yet exhaustive; anyhow brilliant. Yet reportage was less than one could have expected from Niebuhr. What one looks for is . . . conclusions. Alas, there weren't any.

All he has been able to do, so far as this reader is concerned, is to file a petition in bankruptcy for secularist *and* religious philosophy alike.

SAMUEL E. LESSERE

Northport, New York

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SIRS:

Because I respect Dr. Niebuhr's mind, I am particularly interested in his article "Varieties of Religious Revival," but I can not accept his judgment that history has refuted what he calls "the secular alternatives to the historic faiths." Nor do I believe that the "social gospel" of liberal Christian faiths has been discredited.

Surely history teaches that people, even under pressure, can not and will not all espouse the same religion, the same philosophy, the same idea about meanings in human experience. In spite of the great evils of this period, remarkable efforts are being made by people of many different religious and philosophical viewpoints co-operating together to combat evil and to encourage good.

It is true that these faiths have been challenged and shown to be in need of correction by modern history. But they are not repudiated or refuted.

MRS. LORENZ HANSEN

Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

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SIRS:

It is a pleasure to read something in the nature of rational approach regarding religious revival as presented by Dr. Niebuhr. There have been so many articles elsewhere of late which have had virtually nothing to say except, "Retreat from sin, isn't it wonderful?"

Dr. Niebuhr writes, "One can not understand the spiritual climate of our time if one does not see how catastrophically modern man's experience of contemporary history has refuted all the secular securities which had been established irrefutably in the past two centuries." To say that these "secular securities" had been established irrefutably, and now refuted, is to clothe them with values out of all proportion to the facts as to their fate in this country at least. It is very doubtful if as much as one percent of the population in this country, essentially of Puritan persuasion, was ever appreciably influenced by these "secular securities."

One secular religion which surely *has* dominated our country since Hamilton, however, is that of material success. In this religion, which penetrates every highway and byway of our land, the meaning of existence is of little significance, being largely supplanted, in the whole gamut of gradations, by the glow of power and of economic security. Success is the creed from the cradle to the grave and, instead of being refuted, is stronger now than at any time in our history. For the sake of respectability and of social acceptance, lip-service is paid to "religious religion."

GRANT ASHER

Cornville, Arizona

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SIRS:

It is a more than a little surprising to find a writer of Reinhold Niebuhr's standing repeating the old canard that the Catholic Church deifies the Virgin Mary.

The Church's teaching regarding the Blessed Virgin is substantially identical with the poetic tribute paid her by Wordsworth in one of his poems: "Our tainted nature's solitary boast." To be full of grace and to be divine are very different things. Whether one accept or reject these beliefs, they obviously do not involve deification of Mary.

G. R. GARRETT

New York City

► The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

SIRS:

I am intrigued by a statement in the *New Republic* for June 6, page 3, column 3 as follows: "Face to face encounters of presidential candidates have been very rare since Lincoln and Douglas toured the nation. . . ."

In the campaign of 1860, the only one in which they opposed each other as Presidential candidates, Douglas toured the nation, even speaking in the deep South, but Lincoln stayed at home in Springfield, Illinois, and did not make a single campaign speech!

Very rare indeed! Will your writer please tell us of any *Presidential* campaign from 1789 to 1952 inclusive in which the candidates engaged in joint debates from the same platform? It will be interesting to learn of that.

Of course, Douglas and Lincoln did engage in seven joint debates as part of their campaigns for the Senate, in the State of Illinois, in 1858, when each was trying to persuade the voters of that state to elect a majority of his party to the state legislature which then elected the United States Senators. You may remember that Douglas got a majority in the State Senate that year.

L. H. HAMREN

Huntington Beach, California

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MYTHICAL LETTER
from a regular reader

Dear New Republic:

Enclosed find my check for $2.98 to cover a gift subscription. Send the New Republic to my Congressman. And permit me to differ with certain opinions you express in your issue of June 20, to wit:

1. If Canada wants to pay the ladies to have babies, I have no objection. I would, however, remind TRB that Canada is underpopulated. We are not. Further, we seem unable to educate the children we have now without encouraging increased production.

2. I do not share your indignation over the Administration's whittling down of TVA. TVA competes with private industry, and private industry means profits and profits make the world go 'round, as any businessman will tell you.

3. Mr. Alan Westin is on slippery ground when he suggests that Congress should make up its mind about wiretapping. The time to worry is when this Congress does make up its mind.

4. Why blame the President for "missing the point" in his atoms-for-peace proposals? He wasn't put in the White House to get the point, but to help his friends in the Republican Party get what they want.

In short, dear New Republic, you are often wrong. But since you are honest, refreshing and readable, I'm for you.

R.R.

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